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## THE SOCIALISTIC MOVEMENT IN AMERICA.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

In his masterly poem, "The Legend of the Centuries," his genius sparkling in every line, Victor Hugo, after chronicling the crimes of the cycles, exclaimed with the passionate intensity of prophecy fulfilled: "The Nineteenth Century shall be the Century of Humanity."

The great French poet may be quoted with eminent fitness when Socialism is the theme. The whole trend of his thought was controlled by it; and its ideals swept all the vibrant chords of his poetic genius. Proudly he shared the persecution of its pioneers. An long ago in 1844, in exile, Hugo wrote:

"The transformation of the crowd into the people—profound task! It is this labor that the men called Socialists have devoted themselves during the last forty years. The author of this book, however insignificant he may be, is one of the oldest in this labor. If he claims his place among these philosophers, it is because it is a place of persecution. A certain hatred of Socialism, very blind, but very general, has raged for fifteen or sixteen years and is still raging most bitterly among the influential classes. Let it not be forgotten that true Socialism has for its end the elevation of the masses to the civic dignity, and that, therefore, its principal care is for moral and intellectual cultivation."

If, as I believe, the Twentieth century realizes the prophecy of Victor Hugo and "brings full-blossomed on the thorny stem of Time," as the "Century of Humanity," it will be the culmination of the Socialist agitation of the preceding century—the fruition of Socialism.

In the closing years of the last century, following in the wake of the French revolution, the tendencies in Europe were unmistakably toward what has since developed into modern Socialism. Of course the early stages were nebulous and vague; and the trend was not yet strongly marked or clearly revealed. But as the use of steam expanded and its application to industry became more general, with its inevitable effects upon the workers and small tradesmen, the movement was accelerated in some form or other, chiefly Utopian, until many years afterward, toward the middle of the following century, it was crystallized by the genius of Marx, Engels, Lassalle and others who caught the revolutionary current, clarified it and sent it circling round the globe on its mission of freedom and fraternity.

The earliest traces of Socialism in the United States had their origin in the stream of immigration that flowed from the old world to the new and bore upon its bosom the germs of discontent engendered by the effects of feudalism of European countries. I shall not chronicle the many attempts, covering more than half a century, or until about 1840, to spread Socialistic or semi-Socialistic doctrine among the American people and thus turn the tide of development in that direction. The times were fruitful of social unrest and the many schemes and devices that were proposed, chimerical though they were, were the warping signs and symptoms of social gestation, the forerunners of the mighty change that was laying hold of governments and institutions, destined to revolutionize them all and level the human race upward to the plane of all-embracing civilization.

Almost eighty years ago Robert Owen, dreamer, enthusiast and humanitarian, came from England to America, to make the new continent blossom with Utopian splendor. His series of experiments in communism, doomed to disappointment and failure, are an interesting study in the early years of the American movement; and although in the light of our present knowledge of industrial evolution, his undertaking seems visionary and foolish, he did his share to remove the brush and disperse the fog, and the history of Socialism cannot be written without his name.

Decidedly less Utopian and more rational were the manifestations in the forties when what is called Fourierism played its interesting role in America.

Many of the most intellectual men and women of the day were attracted to the movement.

The most ardent enthusiasts seized the devotees and they set to work with hand and heart to convert the Americans into the promised land of milk and honey. Of course the dominant strain was emotional and sympathetic; but there was nevertheless a solid substratum of scientific soundness in the undertaking as is proved conclusively by the recorded utterance of the men who so heartily gave it support. Brook Farm, a beautiful reminiscence, tinged with melancholy, was founded near Boston in 1841. Among the many illustrious names associated with Brook Farm the following have peculiar interest after sixty years: George Ripley, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Horace Greeley, James Russell Lowell, John Greenleaf Whittier, William Cullen Bryant, Albert Brisbane, William Ellery Channing, James Freeman Clarke, Theodore Parker, A. Bronson Alcott, John Thomas Codman, Henry D. Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, George Bancroft, Charles H. Dana and George William Curtis.

The Brook Farm Association was ideal in conception and breathed the air of equality and brotherhood. It declared its object to be "a radical and universal reform, rather than to redress any particular wrong." \* \* \* Is the "preliminary statement" the members said that the work they had undertaken was "not a mere resolution, but a necessary step in the progress which no one can be blind enough to think has yet reached its limit."

Furthermore, said they: "We believe that humanity, trained by these long centuries of suffering and struggle, led on by so many saints and heroes and sages, is at length prepared to enter into that universal order toward which it has perpetually moved. Thus \* \* \* we declare that the imperative duty of this time and this country, nay, more, that its only salvation and the salvation of civilized countries, lies in the reorganization of society, according to the unchanging laws of human nature and of universal harmony."

These passages evince a wonderfully clear perception for that time and would require little remodeling to fit them for a modern scientific Socialist platform.

The closing paragraph is worthy to be preserved in Socialist literature. Its voice is lofty, strong, the faith of the Brook farmers in the realization of their hopes and aspirations. Here it is: "And whatever may be the result of any special efforts, we can never doubt that the object we have in view shall be finally attained; that human life shall yet be developed, not in discord and misery, but in harmony and joy, and that the perfected earth shall at last bear on her bosom a race of men worthy of the name."

This was written in January, 1844, and the whole document bears evidence of the robust development of Socialist thought.

Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote: "And truly, I honor the generous ideas of the Socialists, the new manifestations of their theories and the enthusiasm with which they have been urged."

Albert Brisbane, Parke Goodwin and Horace Greeley, the latter the most unique and in many respects the most clear-sighted and practical, were commanding figures in that day. All of them had the revolutionary blood tingling in their veins—all perceived more or less clearly the drift of the period—the inevitable tendency toward collectivism and industrial freedom.

In the meantime Marx and his coadjutors were clearing the murky atmosphere of the old world. They were exploring for the foundation of things and discovered it in "the materialistic conception of history," the working basis of Socialist activity throughout the world. From this time forward the movement had a scientific foundation, the scattered and contentious factions were gradually united and harmonized, and Socialism became a distinct and recognized factor in the political and industrial destiny of mankind.

Taking inspiration from the European pioneers, and reinforced by the Socialists who crossed the water and at once began the proselyting inseparable from their philosophy, the Americans took heart; they prosecuted their labors with renewed zeal, they scattered the seed near and far and their doctrines struck root in American soil.

Albert Brisbane was one of the heroic figures in inspiring and directing the American movement. He was a pronounced Socialist and an ardent as 1840 set forth his views in a volume entitled "Social Destiny of Man; or Association and Reorganization of Industry." In this work he made a strong plea for co-operative industry and "an equitable distribution of profits to each individual."

Without wishing to disparage any of the men of that period by invidious comparison, the prodigious personality, the charming simplicity, coupled with the keen insight and intense earnestness of Horace Greeley command special admiration. The importance of Greeley's influence in the early history of Socialism in America, when hate and persecution were assailed by the very term, has never yet been recognized, and the writer takes this occasion to pay to "our later Franklin" the humble tribute of his gratitude and love.

Parton, the biographer of Greeley, said: "The subject of all Greeley's oratory is one alone; it is ever the same; the object of his public life is a single. It is the 'EMANCIPATION OF LABOR,' its emancipation from ignorance, vice, servitude, insecurity, poverty. This is his chosen, ONLY theme, whether he speaks from the platform or writes for the Tribune."

Horace Greeley was in the true sense a LABOR LEADER. He was the first president of Typographical Union, No. 6, of New York City, and took advanced ground on every question that affected the interests of the working class. Greeley was above all radical and progressive, that is to say, revolutionary, and the labor leaders of today could with credit to themselves and benefit to their followers, study his works and follow his example.

The appeal in Europe in 1848 drove many of the active Socialists into exile; and the general tide that set in toward the Western hemisphere bore many of these restless spirits to our shores; and no sooner landed they began to sow the seed of socialism and to prosecute the propaganda they had been compelled to abandon on the other side. The German Socialists who came over were the "old guard"; they had the bearing and fearlessness of veterans and they knew so much of the discouragement or failure. Among these agitators William Weidling bore a conspicuous part in preparing the way for organization and action along political lines.

From this time the propaganda became more active and also clearer and more definite. The movement was gradually evolving from the haze of communism that clung to it through all its early years and was beginning to take form as a political agitation with the one object of co-opting the powers of government as a means of emancipating the working class from wage bondage. Labor unions, turner bands and singing societies were organized all through the fifties, all tending in the same direction and though not all pronounced, having practical

(Continued in last column.)

As the representative of a great republic, Whitelaw Reid will shortly become the most grotesque figure in the world. He will appear in a satin knee breeches, crimson braided coat, lace sleeves and gold shoe buckles to represent democratic America at the coronation of King Edward.

He was formerly a common man. Then he married money, became filled with the snobbish philosophy that "the rich can do no wrong" and are made of better clay than other mortals. Finally he insulted the memory of that great commiserator, Horace Greeley, by succeeding him as editor and proprietor of the New York Tribune. Reid has long been one of the most obnoxious defenders of the labor-skinning process on which capitalism is built. And he will represent this land of "the free and equal" before the throne of a king, prostrating himself, monkey-like, knee breeches, lace, perfume and all, before the representative of institutions which the real people of this country hold in contempt.

And who is this king, before whom our daily accredited congressional representative will grovel? A gambler, a profligate and a rake!

His personality was very nicely summed up not long since by William O'Brien, editor of the Irish People, in criticizing a somewhat similar performance, when Cardinal Vaughan presented an address to the King from certain Catholic unions. The cardinal, he said, "went down on his knees before an old bald-headed rone, the lover of every woman of fair features who has appeared in English society for forty years, including titled dames and as yet untitled actresses; before 'the English gentleman' who was a perjurer in an historic divorce case; the polluted 'head' of one of the most malodorous scenes in Zola's latest novel; this precursor of a score of scandals of a contemptible type—down in front of this English King."

These are strong words, borne out by notorious facts. And before this titled representative of the forces that have degraded labor, these many centuries, the "representative" of the people of this country will debase himself when the coronation farce is enacted. Let the gods weep, and let the toilers beat their heads against their tanks, for such things cost money.

## MAY DAY, 1902.



## GREETING FROM THE A. F. OF L.

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor closed its meeting last Saturday by issuing the following address:

"To all wage-workers of America, greeting:

"The constant struggle in which the wage-earners of our country are continually engaged for the attainment of their rights, and mitigation of the wrongs they daily endure, renders it essential that they organize, unite and federate, irrespective of trade, calling, nationality, sex, politics, color or religion. Hope for justice and right, now and hereafter, as well as perpetuation of liberty in our republican institutions, lies in organized labor."

"Individual effort of wage-earners in this day of concentration of industry and wealth is absurd, as well as suicidal. Injunctions of flagrant, unjustifiable, and outrageous character are continually

issued, and honest, law abiding, and faithful workers are thus thrust into prison for periods of from one to nine months. Thus far we have been unable to persuade the Congress of the United States to enact a law that shall protect rights and liberty of people engaged in industrial disputes, and many, of course, have interpreted this failure on the part of Congress to act as warrant and authority to extend the use, or more properly speaking, the abuse of writ of injunctions, so that the scope of each writ still further invades our constitutionally guaranteed rights.

"This impeding and growing danger, therefore, compels us to appeal to workers, and to all people of our country, so that the true feeling of all may be expressed and registered so that public opinion of the people of our common country may more definitely impress itself upon the minds of our national Congress and state Legislatures."

The treasonable representatives of Yankeeedom who have fixed up a scheme of "self-government" for the Filipinos by which only those can vote who can read and write and who OWN PROPERTY, bring to mind the argument Ben Franklin once made against such a property qualification scheme in the early days of this nation. Suppose, under that plan, he said, a man came to vote. The question was asked: Have you any property? And he answered: "Yes, I have a donkey." Immediately the reply would be: "You may vote, sir." But, continued Old Ben, suppose he came the next year to vote and was again asked: "Have you any property worth five pounds sterling?" but he said: "No, my donkey died." They would tell him very quickly: "Well, sir, then you cannot vote." Then Old Ben brought out the absurdity of the thing in this simple question: Now, honestly, who voted in the election, the man or the donkey? See it?

Word comes that John E. Searies, the famous New York cigar magnate, has become bankrupt. He was a shark associated with sharks and the other sharks were too much for him. They had no sense of brotherhood or pity when they got a chance at his pile, nor would he have had any could he have gotten at theirs. No one is secure under the present system and no mercy is shown in the fierce struggle to obtain and retain wealth. And down under this stage on which the division of the spoil is being fought out, is the vast mass of despoiled wage workers, producing from day to night and from night to day the wealth

round which all this gambling and highway robbery centers. It is actually a safe claim to make that so many, so many how rich, is absolutely safe today that tomorrow may not bring him disaster. However rich he may be, round about him are the snapping jaws of the ravening wolves, the men who occupy the front pews and look respectable and virtuous. His claws must be set against his fellows. It is a hideous nightmare, and it's a pleasure as well as a duty to vote against it.

Marcus Hanna, who is just now making goo-goo eyes at the labor unions (which he thinks he can control), says that Socialism (which he knows he cannot get a leading string on), is an American. This is a remark soberly made by a man deemed fit mentally to wear the toga of a United States senator, a distinction supposed to fall to the very wisest citizens. But wherein is it a wise remark? Socialism, to state it roughly, means the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. It means a social and industrial democracy, and that means equality of opportunity and the abolition of classes. Such a thing is only non-American in the eyes of a man like Hanna, who has bled his own fortune out of the unpaid toil of many hundreds of workmen. He has profited by their misery and disaster, and he naturally has no use for Socialism.

## As to the History of May Day.

From the 14th to the 20th of July, 1887, there was held in Paris an International Workingmen's Congress, which was the first real international workingmen's parliament since the days of the old International Workingmen's Association. At this congress the representatives of the workingmen of all industrial countries presented to their governments a series of demands which related to the protection of workingmen at their labor. These demands were as follows:

"An effective legislation for the protection of workmen is absolutely necessary in all countries in which the capitalistic mode of production prevails."

"A. The establishment of a working day of not more than eight hours."

"B. Prohibition of labor of children under 14 years, and a reduction of the working day to 6 hours for juvenile workers of both sexes."

"C. Prohibition of night labor, except in certain industries the nature of which demands uninterrupted work."

"D. Prohibition of labor of women in all industries in which the work has an especially injurious effect on the organism of women."

"E. Prohibition of night labor for women and juvenile workers under 18 years."

"F. An uninterrupted time of rest of at least 36 hours once a week for all workers."

"G. Prohibition of those industries and occupations in which the injurious effect on the health of the workers is evident."

"H. Prohibition of the truck system."

"I. Prohibition of the payment of wages in necessities of life, also of company stores."

"J. Prohibition of undertakers (the sweat system)."

"K. Prohibition of private employment bureaus."

"L. Inspection of all work-shops and industrial establishments, including home industries, by factory inspectors paid by the government, and at least half of these to be chosen by the workmen."

"This congress declares that all these measures, so necessary to healthy social conditions, ought to be incorporated in international laws and treaties, and calls on the proletarians of all countries to influence their governments for this purpose. When such laws and treaties are enacted, their enforcement should be watched over carefully, in order that they may be carried out more effectively."

"This congress further declares that it is the duty of workingmen to admit working women to their ranks on equal terms, and demands equal wages for equal work for laborers of both sexes and without distinction of nationality."

"For the complete emancipation of the proletariat, this congress holds it absolutely necessary that workingmen organize everywhere, and consequently demands the free, unlimited and unrestrained right of union and combination."

"As a support to these demands of protection to the working class, it was resolved to arrange an annual demonstration of the proletariat of every civilized country, which should serve every year as a reminder to the government of what the workingmen desired of them under the present conditions. The resolution which contained this decision read as follows:

"A great international demonstration shall be arranged for a given time and in a such a manner that in all countries and in all cities at once the workingmen on an appointed day should demand from the public authorities the enactment of an eight-hour day, and that all the other decisions of the International Congress at Paris shall be put in force."

"In view of the fact that such a demonstration has already been appointed for the first day of May, 1890, by the American Federation of Labor at its constitutional demonstration."

"The workingmen of different nations must carry out this demonstration in the way and manner prescribed to them by the conditions of their own country."

"The later international congresses of the working class repeatedly occupied themselves with this holiday, which was inaugurated by this resolution. If the year 1891 the congress at Brussels passed the following resolution:

"In order to preserve the intended economical character of the 1st of May demonstration as a demand for an eight-hour day and as a reminder of the class struggle, this congress resolves:

"That the 1st of May in a universal festival of the workingmen of all lands, to remind the workingmen of the identity of their demands and their solidarity."

"This festival should be a holiday so far as the conditions of individual countries make this possible."

"The congress of 1893, the following resolution was adopted in Zurich:

"1. This congress adds the following resolution: It is the duty of the Social Democracy in every country to strive after the observance of a holiday on the 1st of May, and to support any attempt made in this direction by all places and all organizations."

"2. This congress further resolves: The demonstration on the 1st of May for an eight-hour day should at the same time be a demonstration of the firm determination of the working class to abolish class distinctions by SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION, and thus to enter on the only path that leads to the peace of every nation internally, as well as to international peace."

"At the International Socialist Congress of Workingmen and Unions held in London July, 1896, a wish was expressed that the May day festival should be also a protest of the working class of all lands against war and against the increase of militarism and its burdens, and thus the international demonstration of the proletariat was broadened into a protest against the hunting down of nations through war and popular military enthusiasm."

These are the historical foundations of the May day festival. In the United States, however, they have to be somewhat broadened. On account of the climate in the North and Northwest of this country, where most of the industrial population lives, the 1st of May is here ill suited for demonstrations in the open air. A holiday of that character on the 1st of May has consequently little to recommend it. Here the main thing, therefore, is to induce the American workingmen to do what their European brothers have already done—to perfect the workingmen's party, the SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and by its means, to conquer for themselves political power. It was the Socialist emigrants from abroad, and especially from Germany, who preached this many years to the American workingmen, and not without success. They have the satisfaction that chiefly through their efforts the Socialist party or Social Democratic party, has arisen in almost every state of this country, in which the native element is now far in the majority. But which way the Social Democratic party, i. e., the Socialist party, will turn, whether it will become a great organization of world-wide importance—in the spirit of the demands formulated for the 1st of May by the international congresses—or whether it will dwindle away to a narrow sect, preaching a millennium for the future, depends upon the members of the party themselves. We hope that they will choose the right way.

(Continued from first column.)

cally the same end in view. These were the head waters of the American stream flowing toward a common center and once united, cutting through all resistance, sweeping on and on in its course, gathering volume, increasing in momentum, defying dams and leaping over impediments until at last it pours its majestic flood into the shoreless ocean of International Socialism, bearing upon its heaving bosom the emancipated human race.

Viewed today from any intelligent standpoint, the capitalist not excepted, the outlook for socialism is luminous with hope, certain of realization. It is in the light upon the horizon of human destiny and it has no limitations but the walls of the universe.

What party strife or factional turmoil may yet ensue, I neither know nor care; I only know we have the conquering movement; that day by day, nourished by the misery, the hopes and aspirations of the working class, its area of grasp and when the final hour strikes, the Socialist movement, the greatest in all history—great enough to hold the race—will crown the struggle of the centuries with victory and proclaim freedom to all mankind.

Let us all unite to hasten the day of deliverance—to nether is the era of peace and plenty; of light and joy.

Slavery will then be but a horrible memory—a black shadow upon the history of the past. The industrial dungeon will have become the temple of science. The bridge of labor will be the insignia of nobility, and civilization will mantle the earth with a garment of glory.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Present employees who are past this age will not be affected.

Young men are much more open to new impressions and ideas than old men, and recent reports from all over the country show that the larger part of the gain in Socialist strength is from young factory workers. It is a party of young blood, and that means a fighting party and one that will win. These young men haven't stored their brains up with time-honored traditions and are not stopped from looking the new developments straight in the face by former notions of what ought to be done. When they say politics in the union—labor politics, not capitalist politics—they mean what they say. But as if it help along our cause, events such as the above dispatch shows, are forcing the older men, too, to see the situation that is closing in on the tolling class. And the best of it is, it is the men who have belonged to the unbrotly,

exclusive railroad brotherhoods, such as are presided over by each old capitalist fraud as Chief Arthur—men who are too nice to affiliate with central labor bodies—who are having the truth forced through their skulls by the manner class.

The livelihood of the people is held by the economic rulers in the palm of their hands. They have it in their power to say who shall work and who shall not. And they regulate the right of the people to earn bread to suit their own business concerns.

The presence of poverty in the midst of over-abundant plenty makes a strong police and military force necessary. Necessity knows no law. Thine and mine has no meaning to a starving man.

The price of beef and other food stuffs has been forced sky-high by the capitalist gamblers. Cheer up! The worst is yet to come.



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AS TO OFFICIAL CITY CORRUPTION.

To turn to local matters—and all cities  
have the same conditions in this com-  
mopolitan age of the world—the new boards  
of aldermen and supervisors have gotten  
down to "business" and "business" it  
will be for the next two years "to come."  
We cannot say of course how much this  
"business" will cost the street railway  
and other corrupting influences in Mil-  
waukee as a cash outlay, nor how much  
of their obligation to the people it will  
free them from in the long run. But  
this much is certain, this "business" pe-  
riod will handsomely pay both the alder-  
men and supervisors on the one hand,  
and the street railway and the steam  
railway companies, the asphalt com-  
panies and others, on the other hand.

This is the age, par excellence, of mu-  
nicipal corruption. The corruptionists,  
in the main, are men who live in the line  
mansions on the exclusively "swell" ave-  
nues and boulevards and who are looked  
on as the most respectable of all citizens.  
They are the corruptors.

The corruptors, on the other hand, are  
men of the middle walk of life, who are  
easily bought, partly because of the  
stress of living and partly because they  
have the middle class morals about  
"thrift" and "shrewdness" and the "get  
there" philosophy. If an honest man  
goes into the council or the county board  
and hopes to get his own measures  
through, so that his constituents will re-  
gard him as a worker for his ward's in-  
terests, he must join the gang or have  
the gang kill all his bills or measures.

When the common council held its  
appealing session last week it was esti-  
mated that the floral tributes that  
weighed down the various aldermanic  
desks represented a cash value of \$2000.  
This does not mean that for honesty in  
the present board. The people who sent  
those flowers are not the people who do  
things for nothing. They are moved by  
the philosophy of the exploiting class.  
They do not send good money after bad.  
They do not celebrate with flowers for  
nothing!

SOCIALISM VERSUS SECTARIANISM.

We note with interest the growing ad-  
vance of sane Socialistic propaganda  
by Quetch of the official journal of the  
British Social Democratic Federation,  
the London Justice. And the more so,  
since the federation has long been reck-  
oned as occupying relatively the same  
place among the English Socialist parties  
as does the S. L. P. in this country.  
In the last issue of Justice his leading  
editorial is on "Socialism vs. Sectarian-  
ism," and gets its inspiration from an ad-  
dress made by Herbert Barrows at the  
commune celebration in Whitechapel.  
"This is the question which is demand-  
ing our serious consideration at the pres-  
ent moment," he says, "are we for so-  
cialism, ideal and practical, a living  
force, impressing itself upon all the  
phases and actualities of the life of our  
time, and taking the lead in all that  
makes for righteousness and justice, for  
human progress and social development?  
Or, are we for a narrow sectarianism,  
contenting itself with academic disserta-  
tions on abstract theories and the defini-  
tion of rigid formulae, and wrapped in  
its own self-sufficiency as in a garment?"  
These are questions that are pressing for  
settlement, he says, and which require  
to be answered in a practical and definite  
fashion. And he points out that never  
was there a greater need in England for  
a strong Socialist working class political  
party, nor better opportunities for such a  
party than at the present time. The Lib-  
eral party, he claims, while it can scarce-  
ly be claimed to be dead, has still ceased  
to be of any account whatever, and he  
believes that there is great opportunity  
for the Social Democrats to become a  
vital force in the affairs of the nation.  
If they can take a more progressive atti-  
tude.

SOME NOTABLE CONVERTS.

The claim was made by a London  
editor some time ago that the prominent  
literary men and women of this country  
were Socialists. More and more the  
claim seems to be borne out. When  
first made, it was known that William  
Dean Howells was a Socialist, just as  
the late Edward Bellamy was, but far-  
ther than this it was mere conjecture.  
Since that time the roll of the litera-  
ture has been slowly called, and is still  
being called, with gratifying results. Not  
long ago F. Marion Crawford came over  
the line. The last great name to be  
placed on the scroll of honor is that of Mr.  
Julian Hawthorne, who comes honestly  
by his views, he being the son of Nu-  
thampton Hawthorne. Hawthorne pere, it  
will be remembered, was one of the  
Brook Farm colonists and his Blithedale  
Romance, based on that famous social

experiment, is still the best of reading.  
Julian Hawthorne is one of the most  
popular authors of the present day, and  
one need only read his graceful and feel-  
ing article to realize the gain that his  
conversion is to Socialism.

In England, the popular writer, Hall  
Caine, has been lately announced as a  
convert to our cause. And the work  
goes on. It is only the authors who  
come out openly that we can know of;  
many others are Socialists who say nothing  
of it.

It is not a new thought, but it is well  
to remember that plucked geese have no  
property rights in their feathers.

Socialism promises contentment in-  
stead of crime. It offers security for  
all; not surfeit for the few. Under So-  
cialism the workers will use the man-  
sions and the conveniences to proper liv-  
ing which their wealth produces.

In the past battles for human emani-  
pation have been fought with guns. It  
may be so again in the future. But to-  
day the battle must be fought with books  
and other Socialistic literature. Faith  
without works counts for little. Do your  
duty!

We notice that the wage workers of  
Belgium carried the red flag—the em-  
blem of the blood relationship that exists  
among all workers, whatever their coun-  
try—which they insisted in poking in  
their rakish King's face. But for this  
mistake we must be forgiving. They had  
not heard of the emblem referendum tak-  
en by the St. Louis headquarters.

Look out for patchwork reformers. No  
stream is cleaner than its source. The  
patchwork reformers are of several  
classes. Part are fools, who cannot see  
beyond their own precious noses. Some  
are foxes and put forth their palliatives  
to head off real remedies. And some,  
like certain endowed university profes-  
sors, dare not go too far for fear their  
fat will get into the fire.

The labor reporter of the Milwaukee  
Sentinel says that at the coming con-  
vention of the State Federation of Labor  
effort will be made to defeat the clause  
in the constitution advising the members  
to study Socialism. This terrible clause  
bothers the reporter a good deal, who is  
quite loyal and busy in the interests  
of his capitalist masters. No one else  
has thought to object to it, his item in  
the Sentinel to the contrary notwithstanding.

Besides the big vote polled by the So-  
cialists in Milwaukee, which is causing  
the old party politicians and their organs  
considerable worry, the vote of that  
party in Sheboygan was 1403, while the  
Democrats received 1111 and the Repub-  
licans 1002 votes. In Kiel, Wis., the  
Democrats and Republicans combined  
and prevented the Socialists from sweep-  
ing the city by the narrow margin of 7  
votes. In Pacific the Dem.-Rep. com-  
bination also won by 7 votes over the Social-  
ists. In Weymouth the old gangs also  
triumphed and beat the Socialists by 6 votes.  
Still some workingmen believe there is a  
difference between the two old crowds—  
Cleveland Citizen.

"It has been charged that since the  
election and up to the time of the elec-  
tion, the discussion of politics and meth-  
ods of obtaining votes for the Social  
Democratic ticket, consumed more of the  
time of the Federated Trades' Coun-  
cil than did the discussion of purely  
trades union matters." This is a spec-  
imen of the lying labor editor of the  
Milwaukee Sentinel is indulging in, in the  
hope of bringing division into labor ranks  
and making the unions less effective.  
There never was a time when the local  
unions were so strong and at the same  
time so Socialistic as now, and the unions  
that are the most active and enthusi-  
astic are the very ones which contain the most  
Socialists.

One must smile sadly when, in spite of  
the charges of "Bernsteinism" and "op-  
portunism" that some clash-conscious  
fellows have been bringing in our direction,  
Wisconsin figures in the table of the vote  
on the emblem referendum as casting but  
a small number of votes comparatively  
against the red flag as an emblem. It  
got the worst knocks in such "r-r-revo-  
lutionary" strongholds as Illinois, Mis-  
souri and California. A dog that barks  
does not bite, nor is a man who is con-  
stantly boasting of his honesty apt to be  
very trustworthy when there is a good  
opportunity to steal. Keep your eye  
peeled for the fellow who constantly in-  
sists that he is "r-r-revolutionary" and  
"glass-conscious" and that some one else  
is a dot.

Press Comment on Belgium.

"Belgium may be the scene of the  
first Socialistic experiment in Europe."  
New York Mail and Express.

"There can be but one outcome. . . .  
The masses of the people are bound  
to control sooner or later."—Detroit Tri-  
bune.

"The rise of Socialism, with discontent  
among the miners and other workers,  
causes Belgium to be regarded as a dan-  
gerous spot."—Philadelphia Ledger.

"The Belgians masses are objecting to  
government by the 'better classes.' They  
prefer to govern themselves—a desire  
which shocks the aristocracy and has  
led to the calling out of the troops." . . .  
The best guardians of the people's in-  
terests are the people themselves. That is  
as true in Belgium as elsewhere. Rioting  
is an ugly method of striving after  
better political and social conditions, but  
when privilege stands with a gun in its  
hands between democracy and the ballot  
box, democracy will get to the ballot  
box if it has to raise a riot on the way.  
When the Belgians succeed in introduc-  
ing the American plan of one-man-one-  
vote it is altogether probable that they  
will dispense with a king and the nobility  
and set up a republic like our own."—  
Chicago American.

PRIVATE BUSINESS A PUBLIC TRUST.

By Professor Albion W. Small.

Extracts from an article in the Amer-  
ican Journal of Sociology, by the well-  
known University of Chicago professor.

The conditions within which we are  
working today are not the invention of  
men deliberately hostile to their fellows.  
They are the result of enter-prise on the  
part of every sort of human beings, in  
all of whom, up to date, self-interest is  
the law of last resort. We have, ac-  
cordingly, a social order which favors  
one kind of interest to the hurt of oth-  
ers. Our civilization makes property  
more sacred and secure than person-  
ality. This fact no more brands the organizers  
of modern business as enemies of hu-  
manity than the fact that Washington  
owned slaves impeached his character  
as a patriot and a friend of mankind.

We are passing through a social transi-  
tion in which the power of a few men  
to control opportunities for employ-  
ment is enormous, and the liberty of  
many men to defy the caprice of employ-  
ers is correspondingly reduced. It will  
possibly be news to many men, who look  
from the calm heights of professional  
position upon the struggles of organized  
wage-earners, that only those children  
who inherit a title to land or its use  
are born into a legally protected right to  
earn a living. Other children may in-  
herit money or equivalent personal prop-  
erty, and so long as it lasts the law  
will protect them in its use. Then they  
must apply, with the crowd born without  
inheritance, to those who possess the  
land, for the privilege of working in  
further support of life. True, only com-  
paratively few suffer in their purse from  
this condition. Neither did the Southern  
slaves as a rule endure physical privations  
in excess of those which they have  
borne since emancipation. Impeach-  
ment of our industrial organization is  
meanwhile not an attack upon men, but  
judgment of a system.

A civilization in which our man's ac-  
cess to a station above that of pauper-  
ism is in any degree dependent upon the  
arbitrary personal will of other men is,  
by so much, repugnant to the principle  
of the radical similarity of all men in  
title to the franchise of manhood. The  
vulnerable point in our present society  
is not its permission of large wealth to  
some of its members, but its maintenance  
of institutions which, in the last analysis,  
make some men's opportunity to work for  
wealth under any conditions dependent  
upon the arbitrary will of other men.  
We all understand that if a farmer is  
forced from his land, the law allows him  
no claim to any other land except a life  
lease of a place at the poor farm. We  
understand that if a weaver or a switch-  
man loses his job no law compels another  
employer to hire him. Few men outside  
the wage-earning class have fairly taken  
in the meaning of this familiar situation.

TO WRING YOUR HEART.

The Bad Fruit of a Bad System.

A CRY OF ANGUISH.  
"I won't have my wife buried like a  
dog. It isn't my fault I'm poor. I was  
better off one time. If you'll just give  
her a ten-dollar funeral, I'll feel better,  
but I can't see her buried in a pine box."

Robert Biggar thus pleaded with Coun-  
ty Commissioner Nash yesterday, says  
the Minneapolis Tribune.  
"I can't do anything for you," was  
the answer the husband got. "I haven't any-  
thing to do with the coffin that we bury  
the poor in without funds. His wife died  
suddenly Wednesday morning. The body  
was taken to the morgue and it has been  
there three days, while Biggar has tried  
to secure a decent burial for it."  
There is something pathetic in the de-  
termination of the bereaved husband.  
They had seen times of plenty together,  
but things went wrong, and when he got  
down he could not get back again. But  
he stayed by her until she died, and then  
he tried to get money for her funeral.  
He found that his wife would be buried  
in a pine box that would cost \$2.75.  
There would be no lining and no handles,  
only a glue stain. He went to the poor  
house, but the officials there could  
do nothing for him. After visiting  
several other offices, he was at last referred  
to County Commissioner Nash, and he  
went to him early yesterday.

The commissioner referred him back to  
the poor department and Biggar, seeing  
that he had the same hopeless round of  
officials to go over again, thereupon re-  
lieved himself as reported.  
There is nothing for him to do, how-  
ever, Coroner Williams says. Yesterday  
one of the box coffins was brought to the  
morgue and the body was placed in it.  
Biggar has made arrangements for a  
grave in Layman's cemetery and his wife  
will be interred there.  
"I've done the best I can for her," he  
said to a Tribune reporter.

THE CRIME OF BEING OLD.  
Leading on his heavy cane, his strong  
face working with emotion, blind James  
O'Connor of the maids faced the Chi-  
cago Federation of Labor on Sunday  
and pleaded for the young men to take  
up the burden of the old. He begged the  
stronger workmen to let the weak lean  
upon them, and the aged, the difficult far-  
ther organized labor in the age limit to  
the employment of "rushers" or "pace  
setters" by unscrupulous contractors.  
"The building trades contractors," said  
Mr. O'Connor, "employ 'rushers' to push  
the work, and older men are soon crowd-  
ed out. We need not think of em-  
ploying them. With the railroads it is  
the same way. They are seeking the young  
men, the brawn of the country. But  
they are employing university students  
without experience, and then youth is  
causing innumerable wrecks all over our  
country."—A. Bolen, a veteran boilermaker of

If a book-keeper, or salesman, or teach-  
er, or doctor, or lawyer, or minister be  
thrown out of employment, with no title  
to land, and no property in stocks con-  
trolling natural agencies, he is literally  
man without a country. Whatever his  
personal ability to extract the supply of  
his wants from nature's resources, the  
opportunity is closed. He has no stock  
in nature. The resources of the world  
are divided up among the members of  
the propertied estate, and the remainder  
of men depend upon the members of this  
estate for permission to get a share of  
nature by labor in improving nature.  
Desire for equality in title to a place  
in the world where happiness may be  
pursued without power of veto by any  
other human being is an outcropping of  
our common humanity. Civilization is so  
far inhuman until men have learned to  
live together upon terms which insure  
gratification of this desire. The social  
problem—if for simplicity we may speak  
as though social tasks were one—is how  
to socialize ourselves to such degree that,  
without bankrupting all, each may have  
a secure lien upon a minimum share of  
nature's endowment for satisfying com-  
mon human wants. Every human being  
who belongs in society at all, belongs  
there as a citizen, not as a suppliant.

But as its title indicates, this paper  
purposes to emphasize particularly the  
second of the two principles which I  
have called essential in right society;  
namely, not that merely public office,  
but private business, is a public trust.  
The economists have taught in so many  
divisions of labor that their failure to  
reach this larger perception is remark-  
able. Whenever it becomes evident that  
an individual or a class is plainly evad-  
ing the obligation of social service, so-  
ciety always claims a right to repress the  
injury. The most serious count in the  
economist's indictment of other classes  
is not primarily that these classes draw  
the work that they are not doing  
supposed to represent. The just grievance  
of the poor man is not so much that  
another man's income is a thousand, or  
ten thousand, or a million a year, as that  
either figure is more than his possesses  
earn. Back of the formal contracts or  
statutes or institutions, therefore, is this  
unwritten law of civilization that every  
citizen shall be a public servant.

The unrest of our society today is due,  
in large measure, to suspicion that men  
are falling more and more into the po-  
sition of tollers for other men who are  
evading the law of reciprocal service. It  
is not so much that the thing which  
now is must always be, it would be  
treason to describe desirable things  
not yet achieved. It is both weak and  
wrong to refuse recognition of a principle  
on the ground that we cannot fore-  
see the method of its application. Right  
thought and right feeling make right  
action easier. The most dismal and col-  
dest pessimism is the hopelessness that  
dares not admit the need of change.

Adoption of the principle just stated into  
commanding rank in our standards of  
social action will assure steady approach  
to more worthy conditions. The details  
of progressive adjustment must come  
from experiments, just as in the case  
of improvements in printing presses or  
in dynamos.

60, said there must be some solution of  
the question, but he had none to offer.  
He had been out of work six months,  
being turned away whenever he applied  
to prevent the birth of a child to share  
his poverty; and died as a result of her  
crime (?). But whose was the crime;  
was it hers, whose heart was too tender  
to see another child born into poverty  
and degradation; or was it society which  
tolerates the present miserable system of  
birth? In every honest heart, there  
should rise to heaven a demand, supple-  
mented by an unceasing effort to make  
such things impossible.

EDITORIAL SHEARINGS.

Parks, open spaces, trees, flowers,  
seats of water are multiplying within  
the metropolitan area. Slowly but sure-  
ly, an artistic sense is stirring within us.  
The work of John Ruskin and William  
Morris is bearing fruit. Charles Dickens  
in his denunciations of the rookeries  
in which the poor were herded, was for  
long unheeded; but the new spirit that  
thrives under any conditions dependent  
upon the arbitrary will of other men.  
We all understand that if a farmer is  
forced from his land, the law allows him  
no claim to any other land except a life  
lease of a place at the poor farm. We  
understand that if a weaver or a switch-  
man loses his job no law compels another  
employer to hire him. Few men outside  
the wage-earning class have fairly taken  
in the meaning of this familiar situation.

SOCIALISM; THE SOUL OF AMERICA.

The gifted author writes to Wilshire's Magazine of the pres-

Julian Hawthorne's View of the Play of World Forces.

Other nations got their bodies first, and  
their souls later only, if at all. But this  
American nation, so-called, reversed the  
common procedure, and began with its  
soul. It is therefore unique, and it is  
also the only nation normally constituted  
if we concede that the man is the type  
of society, or the state. The Pilgrims  
came here in obedience to a spiritual im-  
pulse, and against all considerations of a  
material sort; they did not care to be  
comfortable, but they were under a co-  
gent necessity to be free. Disgorged  
from their creaking boats after a trying  
voyage, they stood knee-deep in a snow-  
bank, happier than any other group of peo-  
ple then alive. They faced one another,  
man to man, and NONE DESIRED A VANTAGE OVER THE REST. They had the instinct of order, but no craving  
for dominion. Whether religion, politics  
or industry were uppermost in their  
thoughts, their interests and their aims  
were common.

America was then a Socialistic com-  
munity in the full sense of the term; and  
though James, Charles and Georges  
might make remote trouble, that 3000  
miles of salt water prevented them from  
getting taken too seriously. The unde-  
veloped land was worth nothing at all,  
and therefore there could be as yet no  
danger that selfish persons would try to  
exploit it for pecuniary advantage. In a  
vague and remote way the people  
acknowledged formal fealty to a king  
over-seas, but it preoccupied them no  
more than does fealty to God.  
They did not too much concern  
themselves about the future; they had  
no conception of the enormous size  
of the cattle of the globe's surface  
which they had got hold of, or of its  
incalculable potential wealth; their  
visions were modeled on the scope of  
England, and they knew enough of hu-  
man nature to surmise that they were  
not likely to be overpowered by persons  
of like character and aims with them-  
selves. In short, they were a spontane-  
ous and inevitable democracy, and  
thought to remain so. The soul was  
strong and mighty in them, the flesh or  
material part weak and feeble; and to  
such a community the principle of each  
for all and all for each was a matter of  
course. The selfish and inhuman side  
of their nature was not eradicated of  
course, but as yet quiescent, BECAUSE  
THERE WERE NO TEMPTATIONS TO  
DRAW IT FORTH, on the one  
hand, and very entrancing inspirations  
to keep it down, on the other.

It was as a church, primarily, that  
they regarded themselves; and the Chris-  
tian Church has been a democracy from  
the beginning, in that it makes all finite  
creatures equal before the infinite Cre-  
ator. I do not mean to say, of course,  
that the administration of the church  
has been democratic, for it soon ap-  
peared that it had property of worldly  
value, and hogs and tyrants were early  
in its councils accordingly. But religion  
and democracy are in essence indissoluble.

This religious democracy of our fore-  
fathers prompted them to a democracy in  
order and administration in harmony  
with it; and so far as industries were  
concerned, the only possible provision  
was that each man should do his own  
work as far as he could, and should help  
or be helped by the others when neces-  
sary. They governed themselves; that  
they obeyed no laws, and that they col-  
lectively the dictates of justice, reason and  
decency; and they chose administrators  
to carry out jobs given to them in the  
common behoof. This, I say, was the  
original America; and I have always be-  
lieved that, mutatis mutandis, to that we  
could as well come back, for we are  
who are this rignarole and diabolical  
disorder which we have in the long in-  
terim brought upon ourselves has been  
declared unsatisfactory and been finally  
done away with.

AN INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.  
The soul of the true America is now,  
as at first it was, Socialism—or I don't  
mind calling it Industrial Democracy, if  
you prefer—and though during the past  
century or two we have grown upon our  
clean body all manner of goitres, car-  
nacles and cancers, legally and col-  
lectively the dictates of justice, reason and  
decency; and they chose administrators  
to carry out jobs given to them in the  
common behoof. This, I say, was the  
original America; and I have always be-  
lieved that, mutatis mutandis, to that we  
could as well come back, for we are  
who are this rignarole and diabolical  
disorder which we have in the long in-  
terim brought upon ourselves has been  
declared unsatisfactory and been finally  
done away with.

Had Karl Marx and every extant  
Socialist been entrenched in these  
United States do you suppose we  
would have received a visit from Prince  
Henry? No; it is these Johns the  
Baptist Hannas, Morgans and Rockefeller  
who are the trouble. King Henry, who  
would follow him, King Henry, who  
would follow him by circumstances over  
which he has no control. The poor  
little prince arrived expecting to be in-  
troduced to a wealthy plutocracy, an  
oligarchy, a kingdom may be in the  
making; and he will probably go home  
with the conviction that he has seen it,  
but he will be disillusioned ere long. Amer-  
ican brains and money and machinery  
and produce have burst their boundaries  
here and under the shrewd guidance of  
the plutocrats have stepped audaciously  
across the seas; but with them has also  
gone, unseen, the mighty spirit of Amer-  
ica, which is Socialism. That is the  
Continued on fourth page.

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## MAY DAY AND ITS MEANING

Thomas J. Morgan writes of Human Solidarity.

"Thoughts are things," the only things that live. May day is a living thing. It is a judgment in the minds of men. It is formulated in the words: "The world is my country; all mankind are countrymen."

This is a shibboleth which, when once learned, admits man to the highest plane of human conception. It is a thought which spans the centuries; it extends to the limits of future human progress; it indicates the purpose of human existence, of life itself.

Out of this came the reflective thought, "I am a man. The world is my country and all mankind are my countrymen."

The development of this thought has been slow and the mental processes have been wrought through much human suffering. Conscious brute force and criminal cunning prompted man to enslave members of his own family, tribe, nation and race as well as the stranger he could seize.

It argued him to claim as his own as much of the earth as he had power to hold, and to deny the right of others to the same.

It suggested the creation of gods of all kinds and deities as a means of frightening simpler minded men into a recognition of his claims and of their subjection.

The world grew old in this individualism and the hurried cities and the temples, the pyramids and the obelisks are monuments of its insatiable greed.

To understand the thought and to apply it is not easy. Since the Sermon on the Mount millions have gladly called themselves Christians, followers of Him who, born in a cow shed and having no father, lay his head, was crucified as a sinner; and yet these Christians have excelled and enthroned themselves.

The sign of the cross on breast and shield, and the name of Christ as their war cry, have continued to kill and enslave their brethren and claim rulership over the earth, just as the pagan savage or barbarian had done in the long ago; and to the buried cities, ruined temples, pyramids and sphinxes these later Christians added their ruined castles as evidence of the continuance of the same.

Yet individualistic thought of isolated man.

The masters and kings and slaves and the only Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, French, English, etc., separated from each other by ignorance, prejudice and hate; each individual, class, nation and race at war with each other; each limited in thought by the separate environment of each.

These ages of man's gathering experience slowly prepared the way for a change in the means of production and distribution of the necessities of life.

The "labor saving" machine was evolved at last, and with it a new species of man and new confusion of thought. The new man was called a "self-made man," and his claims were admitted by mankind, all the ancient claims of divine right of birth and the more ancient right of brute force were repudiated. In their

place was set up the sacred right of brain and "business ability," with which "God had endowed" some men that they should own the new machines and have others to operate them.

In the place of the old slave market where men bought other men, these "self-made men" established a "labor market," in which the labor power of men, women and children could be bought. This change was declared to be an advance of civilization. The old worship of the ancient gods and kings gave way to the worship of "self-made men," their interests and their country, and to the cities, towns and villages they owned.

A new word, "Patriotism," was coined and set to music, and "Rule Britannia," "Yankee Doodle" and "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" served to keep men separate as of old, and limit the thought to MY townsmen and MY countrymen, and to exclude all other men.

But the mission of the new machine was to destroy all this; and as it grew in power, it forced the "self-made men" into partnerships, then into firms, then into corporations, and at last into trusts—thus merging all of the individualism into an impersonal system of mechanics and mathematics. In this evolution process the "labor market" spread beyond the village, town, city and country, and became a world market. The laborers were forced to leave their birthplace, town, city and country, and meet in the world's labor market, and the world's workshop—men of all nations and all races.

The machine overran all geographical boundaries, leveled the mountains, bridged the seas, annihilated time and space, placed the history and the works of all mankind before all men's eyes, removed all the varied forms of human isolation, and brought all mankind into fellowship. And with this came the comprehension of the thought expressed in the beginning: "God made the earth and the heavens, and man, and said, 'Behold, all this I give to thee.'"

"And ye are all my brethren; and whatsoever ye will that man should do unto you, ye even so do to them; for this is the law."

In this comprehension is included the thought of the common brotherhood, the common need, the common right, and common obligation of labor—the right to the free use of all the earth and all the things thereon, including the machines and the brains and the business ability and the physical power of all men for all men.

This is the thought of May day. This is the thought which found utterance in the words: "The world is my country and all mankind are countrymen." This is the thought in the shibboleth of the Socialists. "All the means of production and distribution shall be the common property of all the people."

Thoughts are things, and as men think this thought, so the thought will be transformed into the institutions which will constitute the Socialist society which is to be.

Are the human monkeys so wise after all?

—IN OTHERS!

A great traveler went to Africa. He penetrated far into the interior—where the foot of man-civilized man—had never trod.

He found a tribe of monkeys—contentedly living on the things which nature had provided in abundance. Each monkey gathered what he needed, and his neighbor did the same—and there were none who lacked.

The men was surprised at the simple-minded creatures, and set about to give them a few lessons in political economy.

He gathered together several of the best-looking fellows, and then unfolded to them his scheme.

"Why do you thus go forth and labor, and do the rest of the tribe? In my country we do not reap, nor sow—but allow others to do this for us?"

"How so?" inquired one.

And the man, lowering his voice, gave to his audience of select persons the secret.

The following day—before the rest of the tribe had awakened, the select few, under the direction of the man, took possession of the forest, and the cocoanut groves. When the balance came forth to pay for the morning repast, the manager of the new company stepped forward and said:

"My dear friends, it has seemed wise that we—my friends here—take possession of the land, and the groves, and the cocoanuts. We have decided to give you work that none may need, and with a pleasant smile and a kindly twinkle in his eye, he explained the scheme of civilization which the great white man had brought with him.

The other monkeys seemed well pleased with the arrangement—for was it not a step toward civilization—and went to work with a will, gathering all fruit of the trees. For every nut gathered they came and laid one at the feet of the new owners. Soon the members of the company were in possession of all the nuts they could eat, and having need of no more they told their workmen that they would close operations for the present, and that they could take a vacation.

This seemed good in the sight of the tribe, and they scampered about with much delight.

Presently they became hungry, and would have plucked of the fruit of the trees, but the manager of the new company said:

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## How Blatchford Came Over.

This is how Robert Blatchford, editor of the London Clarion and author of the widely read work on Socialism: Merrie England, became converted:

"Some time in 1888 or 1889 I was writing upon some social question in the Chronicle when a Manchester workman wrote to say that the only remedy was Socialism. I replied by condemning Socialism. Then a Liverpool workman wrote to say that I evidently did not know what Socialism was, and that I was an ass for writing about things I did not understand."

"This caused me to think about the position, and I readily perceived that I really did know nothing about Socialism, that I had written about it, and that I was an ass."

"Therefore I wrote to my Liverpool friend and asked for some books on Socialism, at the same time saying that I would study the question, and that if Socialism seemed to be just and wise I would not be ashamed nor afraid to say so."

"I read it. I saw directly that this collective idea was the very thing I had been looking for, that it was just, simpler and more perfect than my own scheme, and that it was very different from what I had believed Socialism to be."

"Therefore I was a Socialist and said so. I do not know that I have anything to add to this highly interesting account, except that I am a Socialist still, and always shall be, and that I cannot understand why other people are not Socialists also when Socialism is so wise, so just, and so easy to understand. But all progress is slow. The British are a level-headed and practical people, but they cannot help it, and we have got to make the best of them, consulting ourselves with the reflection that our beloved fellow countrymen are too stupid to turn round very quickly. It is probable that if they ever do become Socialists they will 'stay put' for a long while."

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"The man, I forget his name, sent me a pamphlet by Hyndman and Morris. I read it. I saw directly that this collective idea was the very thing I had been looking for, that it was just, simpler and more perfect than my own scheme, and that it was very different from what I had believed Socialism to be."

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# SOCIALISTIC GLEANINGS.

What the collectivists are doing throughout the world.

## The Vote Round-Up.

New Haven, Conn., polled 300 votes against 345 a year ago.

Three Socialist justices of the peace were elected at Arlington, N. J.

Omaha, Neb., cast 900 votes. At Lincoln we had over 500, a big gain.

At Albuquerque, N. M., we got 391. Every fourth man is a Socialist. At Skowhegan, Me., 250.

The vote at Kansas City, Kan., was 301. Last year, 196. At Girard it was 93. Last year, 16.

At Leominster, Mass., we got 104, as against 56 last year. Noble, Ill., gave us 72, a gain of 500 per cent.

Cameron, Cal., is reported to have elected a Socialist mayor. At Altman, that state, the Socialists cast one-fourth of the vote.

The Socialists polled 567 at Danbury, Ia. Last year, 311. At Boone, Ia., they got 214, as against 125 last November and 10 a year ago.

At Catskill, N. Y., we got 27 votes. At Fargo, N. D., we got 192, a gain of 300 per cent. At Livingston, Mont., we doubled our strength.

At Kansas City, Mo., we polled 450, or at least that many were counted. At Sedalia the old parties combined. We got 656, a gain of 342.

The Socialist party, which has been making immense gains all over the country just about holds its own in Cleveland. Cleveland Citizen.

At Warren, O., we got 148, with every fifth man on our side. At Springfield, 325. At Mansfield, 308; last year, 27. At Cincinnati, 1726. At Cooncut, 49.

At Lincoln, Neb., we got 502 votes for water commissioner. Last year there were only 18 votes in the entire county. There were 111 votes at Nebraska City. At Fairfield, 24 votes.

At Henrietta, Tex., 33 votes, first flop out of the box. At Port Arthur, John E. Roberts was elected city secretary on the Socialist ticket. At Houston, 599 votes; two years ago, 96.

The charge is made that some members of the Socialist party in Webster, Mass., accepted endorsements from one of the old parties for its candidates. The matter is being investigated.

Bloomington, Ill.—The Socialist vote at the election here yesterday (15th) was: Police magistrate 125, alderman 144. In 1900 we had 96 votes.

DR. J. F. SANDERS.

The Socialists at Faribault, Minn., doubled their vote. Atergus Falls we got 301 out of the 815 cast. At Crookston we got 341 to the Democrats' 483. The Republicans did not put up a ticket!

Ohio—So far as heard from, the Socialists polled the following vote in the places named: Cincinnati 1726, Cleveland 613, Toledo 617, Dayton 350, Continental 16, Bucyrus 57, Warren 148, Springfield 307, Mansfield 268.

At Pine River, Mich., we got 166. At Benton Harbor the vote shows every eighth voter a Socialist Democrat; in 1898 every fifty-seventh voter was. At Kalamazoo we cast 93 straight votes. At Battle Creek Comrade Culp was elected alderman in the first ward by 70 votes and Comrade Jackson in the Second ward by 130.

## The Home Field.

The Mills school of social economy at San Francisco sent a congratulatory telegram to Vandervelde and the Belgians.

May day in Boston will be celebrated Sunday evening, May 4, at Paine Memorial hall. A special invitation will be sent to trade unions.

Comrade Otto Mack sailed for Europe April 17 on the Hamburg-American liner Deutschland. He will contribute to the Herald from time to time.

Comrade Philip Brown of Chicago was re-elected on the state board of Illinois. Comrade E. M. Stangland has been chosen secretary of the board.

The Social Democrats of the Ninth ward, Milwaukee, will give a May ball Saturday evening, May 17, at Meixner's hall, Twenty-seventh and Vliet streets.

The county convention of the Socialists of Ft. Wayne, Ind., was held in the court house at that city last Tuesday evening. Nominees for the November election were chosen.

The party in Indiana will hold its state convention at Terre Haute on July 4. Each branch will be entitled to as many representatives as there are individual members in good standing, and non-attending members can have a voice by giving a credential to a member who does attend.

Branch charters have been issued to Garfield, Idaho; Rock Springs, Wyo., and Jellico, Tenn.

Donations to the national propaganda fund:

Amount reported to April 12: \$288.33  
J. Edelmann, Philadelphia, Pa. 1.25  
T. Hosmer, Bloomfield, Mo. 1.00  
Local, Cincinnati, O. 5.00  
Sixth and Tenth Assembly districts, New York 2.00  
Branch No. 2, local, Hudson county, New Jersey 5.75  
Branch, Jersey City, Hudson county, New Jersey 5.00  
Total to April 19, \$308.33

## Across the Herring Pond.

A Socialist agitation is alarming the authorities in Tangier.

The Socialists have now fifty-eight seats in the German Reichstag.

The Christian Socialist organization in Italy numbers over 7000 branches, much to the alarm of the so-called spiritual authorities.

In Karlsruhe, Germany, the Socialists made a big gain, though defeated by a narrow majority. All the parties were combined against the former.

A ray of light comes from France. The Socialists are making an enthusiastic campaign against combined forces of capitalism. Great gains are expected in the coming elections.

In Italy school teachers are being discharged for being Socialists, but they are just as quickly given jobs on party papers and being elected to official positions by class-conscious workmen.

"In Darkest Tokio," was written after capitalism had been introduced into Japan. Before Commodore Perry opened up the secluded kingdom to capitalism's slimy curse, there was no poverty in Tokio, but it is there now, and there to stay until Socialism applies the balm of brotherhood that will heal its pitiable sores.

Comrade Walter Crane, the famous artist-Socialist, presided at the Commune celebration held in Whitechapel, London. He opened the meeting with a brief history of the commune. There were talks also by Lessner, Quelch and Herbert Burrows, and a feast which also symbolized the internationalism of our movement. There was a Russo-Jewish soup called "bortsch"; there was French bread, and good English steak and potatoes; whilst the British colonies and America

were represented by the fruit." Lessner, with his flowing white beard and eagle voice, raised enthusiasm when he said: "I am fifty-four years in the movement and I am as firm and as enthusiastic as ever; the revolution must and will come."

Advices from Sweden state that our comrades have decided to hold Sunday meetings to promulgate a general strike for the purpose of forcing the parliament to grant universal suffrage. After the parliament committee has published its report with regard to suffrage the Social Democrats will hold daily meetings and the strike will begin when the parliament takes up the consideration of the proposition.

The Socialist women of Vienna are conducting an energetic movement against militarism, the impetus of which was the government's barbarous treatment of strikers in Trieste. Three great meetings, in which women spoke, were unusually well attended. In all three, after the lectures which were loudly applauded, resolutions were adopted advocating that the standing army be abolished, and that the arming of all the citizens be substituted in its place. The resolutions emphasized the fact that the standing army is a danger to the rights of the people.

## Milwaukee Central Committee.

Meeting of April 21. Robert Meister in the chair. Minutes read and approved. New members reported: Tenth ward, 5; Sixth ward, 2; Twelfth ward, 4; Thirteenth ward, 2; Ninth ward, 5; Fifteenth ward, 2. Approved and referred back. New delegates sent: Eighth ward, William Tews; Tenth ward, James R. Connolly. Victor L. Berger said the central committee was ready for a review. Considering its magnitude the campaign was the least expensive ever held by the Milwaukee comrades, the total cost being about \$1073.90. Messrs. Rummel, Connell and Burmeister elected. The following committee was elected to revise the program: Messrs. Messers, Moeller, Anderson and Bruhn. E. T. Melms reported the engagement of Schlitz park for the monster picnic on August 17 at a rental of \$100 and 35 per cent. of the gross on all games and one-half the ice cream privilege money. Approved. C. T. H. Melms reported the following from the committee on stock company:

"After carefully going over all the details and the situation of the Social Democratic Herald, your committee makes the following suggestions:

1. That a stock company be formed with an authorized capital of \$10,000.
2. That shares of \$5 each be issued, to be paid in monthly installments of not less than 50 cents.
3. Shares to be not transferrable without the consent of the board of directors and the stock company to have the right of pre-emption in case of sale.
4. The central committee to buy 300 shares of \$5 each, the total amount to be invested, \$1500, besides which the central committee to be entitled to shares for the total amount which it has paid up to the date of the organization of the company, in the shape of deficiencies. The stock of the central committee to be held by a board of trustees.
5. Comrades Berger and Thomas to receive for all money invested their respective amount of shares.
6. Comrade Berger to receive, in addition, fifty shares and \$250 in cash for his work as editor up to the present time.

"Signed: Edward Ziegler, James Sheehan, Jacob Hauger, C. T. H. Westphal, Eugene H. Rooney."

The report was adopted section by section. The following trustees were elected: Messrs. E. H. Rooney, Richard Schmidt, C. T. H. Westphal, Theodore Burmeister and E. T. Melms. Secretary read the following resolutions, which were adopted:

"Whereas, our comrade, A. S. Edwards, has been called from the local Socialistic field, after a period of activity that endeared him to us as a comrade in fact as well as one in name, therefore be it

"Resolved, by the central committee of the Social Democratic party of Milwaukee, that we hereby attest the sense of personal loss felt by each and all of us in his removal to Chicago, and that, cherishing the pleasant memories of our past fellowship with him, we shall constantly wish for Comrade Edwards in his new location, the best of luck and many, many days of happiness, and be it also

"Resolved, that we hereby tender him a vote of thanks for the services rendered the cause in this city."

The sum of \$10 for expenses was allotted the promoters of the ball game between the south and west side comrades. Moved to allow V. J. McSwaney pay for three days' services during the campaign. Amended to pay him for six days. Carried. A vote of confidence was given the campaign committee for its handling of speakers during the campaign. Comrade Rooney urged the comrades to subscribe in the advertising for the Herald. Adjournment.

FREDERIC HEATH, Secretary.

## FROM THE WORKERS.

Make 'em brief. Write only on one side of the paper, please.

We acknowledge the following kindly letter from Comrade Ernest Burns, secretary of the British Columbia Socialist party:

Vancouver, B. C., April 7.—Editor Herald.—Dear Comrade: Allow me to congratulate the Socialists of Milwaukee and the Herald on the magnificent vote polled by the Social Democratic party at your recent city election. This, I take it, is a complete vindication of your admirable municipal platform, which, while stating in clear and unmistakable language the ultimate principles for which we stand, also advocated a number of practical, progressive reforms, which serve both as stepping stones to Socialism and as means of attracting the intelligent discontent to our party. The miserable vote polled by Socialists in other cities where the opposite course has been pursued, and the comrades have refused to allow their revolutionary platform to be "contaminated by any palliatives," make the result all the more gratifying. Yours for a rational Socialism.

ERNEST BURNS.

Chilton, Wis., April 9.—Editor Herald: I am on the road all the time and plugging away for the cause, day after day, somewhat. Could we not get McSwaney, or Stedman, or Tuttle, up here this fall to get up some enthusiasm. The interest of the people in our movement is increasing continually, and there is much of surprise in store for us in the near future.

AL ROEBCKER.

San Francisco, Cal.—I congratulate you on your paper and the Milwaukee vote.

WALTER THOMAS MILLS.

## Electricity on the Farm.

The advantages to be gained by operating farm machinery electrically are set forth in Science Illustrated, by M. E. Dieudonne. The writer advocates the installation of central stations in farming districts, to supply a number of neighboring farms with current for power, heating and lighting. M. Dieudonne refers to the increasing importance of electricity in industrial operations, and asks, "How can this new source of power be applied to the operations of the farm?" His general conclusion is that "if a large number of farms should combine to set up a single central plant, there would, of course, be less expense in the first establishment of the system, and each one's share of the running expenses would also be less." Here comes in a chance of state protection for agriculture that Socialists will support.

## Labor and Capital Are One!

"Times are hard," said the Picked Chicken.

"Why," said the Rat, "this is an era of prosperity; see how I have feathered my nest!"

"But," said the Picked Chicken, "you have gotten my feathers."

"You must not think," said the Rat, "that because I get more comfort you get poorer."

"But," said the chicken, "you produce no feathers, and I keep none—"

"If you would use your teeth—," interrupted the Rat.

"I—," said the Picked Chicken.

"Without consumers like me," said the Rat, "there would be no demand for the feathers which you would produce."

"I will vote for a change," said the Picked Chicken.

"Only those who have feathers should have the suffrage," remarked the Rat—Life.

## Notice.

The North Side Baseball Team of Milwaukee will practice at Thirty-fifth and Vliet streets Sunday morning at 9 o'clock. All north side Social Democrats capable of playing ball please be on deck.

## AGENTS FOR THE HERALD.

G. Goldstein, 227 Clinton street, New York.  
H. Vigderon, 78 Graham avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
E. Vandervoort, 148 South Peoria street, Chicago.  
James Lambert, Socialist Temple, 120 S. Western avenue, Chicago, Ill.  
L. Juster, 42 Governor street, New York. Takes subscriptions for this paper.

# The National Platform.

The Socialist party of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transferring the means of production and distribution to a state of collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalist and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the workers, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the working men to a state of intellectual, physical and moral inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial domination abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition of Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue therefrom to be used for the reduction of the taxes of

Continued from second page.

nonement for which Hanna, Morgan & Co. are so innocently laying the pipes.

GOOD WILL COME OUT OF EVIL.

No Socialist propaganda could have been devised by Socialists themselves so effective and cogent as that which is being managed by those of our citizens to whom Socialism is most abhorrent. They create interest in America and sympathy with her by exhibiting her in foreign lands as the thing which they imagine her and intend her to be; they make her power felt, and her style tolerated; they create for her the respect which is based on fear. They are wholly preoccupied with the idea of getting rid of our industrial surplus, of making money, of owning things; and they impress this preoccupation upon their foreign customers. But all the while the silent masses of European folk are looking on, and taking notes. They are training themselves, largely in unconsciousness, of course, for the part they are to play. Ideas are secretly filtering into their brains, cravings and impulses into their hearts, apparently disconnected with the gaudy business that is going forward, yet of kindred generation. All of a sudden, that crisis which you have specified takes place; our bellies go forth to battle. The individual captains of industry and the system which they represented, are unhorsed, submerged, or otherwise annihilated; but the industries survive so far as they are genuine and have a right, and they system draws upon the night. And that it will dawn not here only, but all over the civilized world at the same time, we shall have to thank our self-seeking little Johns the Baptist. They were blind instruments of a higher destiny; impotent pieces, as old Omar would say, of the game he plays. It is a lovely comedy, or later, it may be a tragedy, but that the theater of it is the less danger there will be of its acquiring a tragic complexion. The Americanization of Europe, begun by American capital, confirmed by American infiltrations of all other kinds, is a fact impending or accomplished. But Americanism is an idea, and that idea is Socialism. Sooner or later, not much later, I think—it will drop its mask; possibly its real features may be recognized abroad even before we discover them ourselves. Those good old Pilgrim Fathers of ours, who have of late so often had occasion to despair of their offspring, will welcome the result at last. We shall not externally resemble the Pilgrims, any more than the oak resembles the acorn; but the essence will be the same. The fatted calf will be served up—and such a calf! And deeply will our remote posterity ponder the problem how they, so enlightened and sane as they are, could ever have descended from a race of imbeciles and maniacs like us!

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The Repair and Sundry Dept's are unexcelled.

PHILLIP GROSS HARDWARE CO. 126-128 GRAND AVE.

## Branch Meetings.

FIRST WARD BRANCH MEETS EVERY second and fourth Monday in each month at 826 North Water street. Chris. Westphal, Secretary.

SECOND WARD BRANCH meets every third Friday of the month, corner Fourth and Chestnut streets. Jacob Hunger, secretary.

THIRD WARD BRANCH MEETS ON the second Thursday evening of the month at 614 State street.

FIFTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Thursday of the month at southeast corner Washington and Greenbush streets.

EIGHTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Friday at 373 First avenue.

NINTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Thursday of the month in the Alemanin hall, corner Fourteenth and Walnut streets. Henry Bruhn, 2021 Galena street, secretary.

TENTH WARD BRANCH meets on the first and third Friday of the month at Bahn Frei Turner hall, Twelfth and North avenue. Ed. Grundmann, Sec., 1720 Llayed street.

ELEVENTH WARD BRANCH (formerly No. 9) meets at Charles Miller's hall, corner Orchard street and Ninth avenue, every fourth Friday in the month.

TWELFTH WARD BRANCH—Meets first and third Thursday at 807 Kinlekinle avenue. Geo. Lenon, secretary, 204 Austin street.

THIRTEENTH WARD BRANCH MEETS every second and fourth Wednesday of the month at 524 Clarke street. Maata Olson, 1019 Fourth street, secretary.

FIFTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Tuesday in August Bressler's hall, corner Twentieth and Chestnut streets. Dr. C. Barkmann, secretary, 948 Winnebago street.

NINETEENTH WARD BRANCH MEETS every second and fourth Wednesday in the month in Meixner's hall, corner Twenty-seventh and Vliet streets. Louis Balser, secretary, 558 Twenty-ninth street.

TWENTIETH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Thursday of the month in Folkmann's hall, corner Twenty-first and Center streets.

TWENTY-FIRST WARD BRANCH (formerly No. 22) meets at Gaetke's hall, Green Bay avenue, near Concordia, every second and fourth Tuesday in the month.

TWENTY-SECOND WARD BRANCH (No. 4) meets every first and third Friday of each month at Meixner's hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 891 Twenty-fifth street.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Leon Greenbaum, Room 427, Emille Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD—State Secretary, E. H. Thomas, 614 State street, Milwaukee, Wis.

THE CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every first and third Monday evening of each month at Meixner's hall, 208 Fourth street. Eugene H. Rooney, secretary; John Doerfler, treasurer, 701 Winnebago street.

## FEDERATED TRADES COUNCIL.

John Reichert.....Corresponding Sec'y  
Emil Brodde.....Recording Sec'y  
Nels Anderson.....Business Agent  
Gus. Esche.....Treasurer

Meetings are held on the first and third Wednesday to each month at Kaiser's Hall, 208 Fourth street.

Metal Trades Section meets first and third Monday.

Label Section meets every second and fourth Wednesday.

Building Trades Section meets second and fourth Tuesday.

Miscellaneous Section meets first and third Thursday.

Office of the Business Agent: 318 State Street

Brass Moulders' local 141 meets every first and third Tuesday of the month at West Side Armory hall.

Agent for the Herald: Joseph A. Brefke.

## DRINK

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